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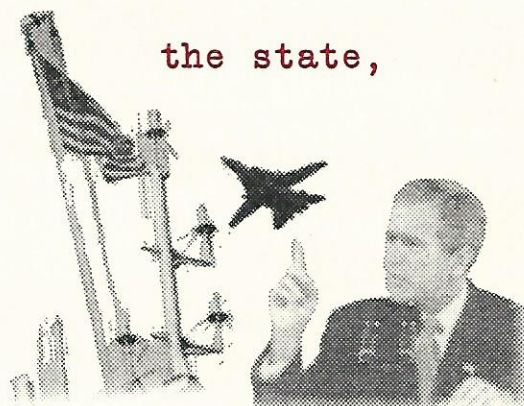
# ARA

# research bulletin

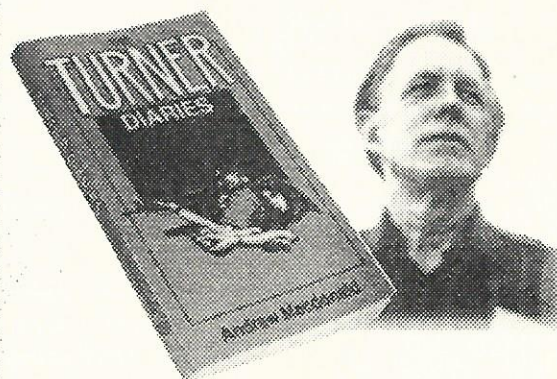
Anti-fascist research, analysis, and debate

It's  
on...

the state,



the fascists,



and us...



project of Chicago ARA



**T**he Research Bulletin is a project of Chicago Anti-Racist Action with support from the ARA Network. We want the Bulletin to be a publication where ARA activists report on and discuss both the nature and direction of specific fascist groups and the strategies and tactics of state repression. There's a lot to consider. If we want our activity to be effective, we have to operate on shared analysis and assumptions.

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### Contents:

Fifth Column Fascism . . . . .	4
Reports From the Homeland Front . . . . .	6
Q&A: Know Your Enemy . . . . .	11
Rawa . . . . .	20
Repression . . . . .	21
Concordia . . . . .	26

## Opening Words

The so-called "war on terrorism" launched after the events of September 11th, has changed the political landscape. We thought a direct response to these changes was more important than carrying through with our plans for the second issue of the bulletin. The articles prepared for that issue are on hold. We hope that the information and arguments in this special issue will contribute to a productive discussion and open up some potential approaches to activity. We have only covered a few of the possible issues, and tentatively at that. Most of what we say is intended raise questions, not to lay out a stance.

We must think clearly and take care because the situation has changed a lot and the stakes have gotten higher very quickly. Not only have the dangers increased, the political possibilities have expanded as well. Others disagree and act as if we have absorbed a serious defeat which requires a retreat to positions which are far less than our needs and our potentials. We haven't been politically defeated. Nothing has happened that compels us to turn away from a radical analysis and militant tactics towards tired and timid reform politics. Nothing requires us to start over from the beginning. Neither, however, can we act as if nothing important has changed. Following along our familiar and comfortable routines is the path to disaster.

Our movement has always tended to be sloppy and simplistic about the questions facing us. After 9/11, we no longer have the luxury. The potential for repression, the issues of violence and terrorism, our difficulties in relating to mass needs and grievances, and, indeed, our conception of the danger of fascism, are urgent matters and we must treat them as such.

If there is a theme in this issue, it is that our struggle is not a simple one. We have two enemies that are related but that cannot be reduced into each other. First, there is global capitalism and the states that administer and enforce it. Second, there are implicit and explicit fascist organizing projects around the world that are developing mass movements fundamentally hostile to human liberation. These fascist projects build on the real grievances and demands of masses of people that are a consequence of capitalism, and they build on the failures of the left to provide a relevant, revolutionary and liberatory challenge to capitalism.

These articles talk about some aspects of these problems. We hope that they are useful.



G r e e t i n g s  
to the 2001 Anti  
Racist Action  
n e t w o r k  
c o n f e r e n c e ,  
Montreal, Quebec  
from the ARA research  
bulletin...



...against the capitalist state and the fascists



# FIFTH COLUMN FASCISM

fascism within the anti-war movement - by k-dog

**T**he events of Sept. 11. An anti-imperialist attack that is also a fascist attack. A body count that makes McVeigh look like just an angry postal worker. Neo-nazis debating whether to embrace the Jew-hating Al-Qaeda or the wave of anti-Arab and anti-immigrant violence sweeping the U.S. George W. denouncing the Taliban as nazi-like, followed by missiles, bombs, and special forces. Arafat's cops shooting down anti-U.S. youth in Gaza. Red, white, and blue ribbons & pins at work unless you're one of the tens of thousands patriotically down-sized.

For radical anti-fascists it is time to reset our compass. As the smoke clears a few things become clear:

- The chickens have surely come home to roost, there is a cost after all to continued U.S. domination of the planet's people and resources.
- All resistance ain't liberatory and all fascists ain't aryan. The Sept. 11 actions apparently carried out by the Al-Qaeda network was a major blow to the U.S. But Al-Qaeda's program is to put as much territory under Taliban-style rule as possible. In typical fascist fashion civilian casualties were sought out, not avoided.
- The emergence of Al-Qaeda and the Taliban's armed fundamentalist/fascist movement has for now eclipsed the anti-globalization movement including the growing libertarian, militant, anti-capitalist tendency as "the main threat to capital". It also underlines the ultimate failure of revolutionary nationalism or marxism/leninism to resist integration into or reproduction of the worst horrors of capitalism - leaving the fundamentalists to redefine the resistance and recruit the rebels.
- The war, the recession, and the new levels of state repression necessarily provide opportunities for us, but also for the fascists, to organize.

## **The anti-war movement**

The anti-war movement is one such arena

where there will likely be competition between fascists and anti-fascists to define the resistance. This sounds funny to say, since we're used to any and all anti-war movements to be the property of the left. But like George Bush-Laden keeps reminding us, after Sept. 11 "everything has changed".

## **The neo-nazis**

It is a fact that the first responses of the major U.S. hard-core nazi groups to the Sept. 11 attacks was a "chickens come home to roost" attitude with a heavy emphasis on the U.S. backing of Israel as the main source of the attack. In the wake of all the anti-Arab violence, many of the nazis have tried to connect with that vibe by emphasizing anti-Arab, anti-immigrant demands. But if a significant anti-war movement develops, look for the National Alliance, World Church of the Creator, WAR, etc. to make appearances at anti-war events. ARA and other anti-fascists should develop intelligence on their intentions and prepare to confront and physically expel the neo-nazis from any and all anti-war events.

## **Third position / Red-Brown**

Slightly more complicated is the fascist third position tendency (represented in N. America by the American Front and some Canadian based web site) This tendency has a more developed anti-imperialist line and will frown on mob violence against Arabs. Much of their politics so closely resemble third world nationalist / state-socialist forms and rhetoric that confronting them only physically will be inadequate. We'll have to be prepared to take on their arguments as well. It is guaranteed that they will try to enter the movement in Europe, (especially Russia, Greece, Italy, Germany, Spain, Britain) where this tendency is most developed, strongest and already has some links with a few Arab nationalists.



## Fascism on the left

While the fascist third-position tendency makes open appeals to the radical left for united fronts, there is no equivalent (in North America any way) groups on the left making appeals to the fascist right.

Still there are some disturbing trends in this direction.

The International Action Center, a front for Workers World Party (WWP), is a major organizer of the anti-war movement, especially mass mobilizations in D.C. WWP has thoroughly authoritarian politics supporting the Tiananmen massacre, Saddam Hussein, the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe, etc. This unfortunately does not make them unique on the left. WWP, however formed a de-facto Red-Brown alliance during the U.S. war on Yugoslavia. WWP supported Milosovic, denied the genocide against Bosnians and Albanians, held joint rallies with the Serbian National Front (A U.S. based fascist pro-genocide grouping). A large WWP forum, in NYC broke into fascist-led chants of "long live Serbia".

WWP has developed a bizarre relationship with Ramsey Clarke, a former U.S. Attorney General during the Vietnam war. Clarke fronts their International Action Center, making missions to Iraq and Yugoslavia. Interestingly, before hooking up with WWP, Clarke had a legal/political relationship with the LaRouche Organization- a notorious anti-left fascist cult that gathers information on the left for sale to corporate and govt. agencies when not spouting conspiracy theories involving the queen of England.

The dynamics of this war are different than the Yugoslav war, still the WWP will play ball with nearly anyone, and should be watched carefully, and exposed to the rest of the movement by anti-fascists.

Within the rest of the left, including Black & Latin nationalist movements, there is always a tendency to uncritically support whoever is fighting the U.S. (or whoever the U.S. is fighting). In the past this often meant support for various stalinist movements and regimes, now it could mean supporting the fascists of Al-Qaeda or the Taliban. Combatting this tendency means clearly opposing, thru direct action and counter-information all of the U.S. imperi-

al moves while exposing the fascist anti-woman politics of Al-Qaeda/Taliban, organizing direct aid to autonomous forces in the region such as RAWA - Revolutionary Assoc.. of Women of Afghanistan and developing liberatory political/philosophical framework for resistance and revolution that is a clear alternative to capitalism, stalinism, and fascism. I believe this framework will have to be an anarchist/anti-authoritarian one.

## Even the Anarchists

But even within the anarchist movement there are tendencies which could potentially embrace fascist forms. Some in the green anarchist or "primitivist" tendency have greeted past terrorist atrocities as welcome blows to the industrial machine. Separately, the founders of the Anarchist Black Cross Federation have generally supported anyone with a gun (including Peru's Shining Path) while at the same time refusing to defend or privately disagreeing with women's reproductive freedom. This combination makes me fearful of where they might fall on Al-Qaeda.

## Anti-Racist Action

ARA's first point of unity says: "we go where they go, never let the fascists have the streets". In the past we've interpreted this narrowly in terms of taking them on in isolated demonstrations in scattered communities. Now we have to realize that this pledge has a broad and deep interpretation as well. The fascists want to "go" into a major social struggle against the new world order, we have to be ready to "go" there as well. Against the dominant system, and also against the many shades of fascism: aryan, red, brown, black, green, islamic, christian, jewish, red, white, and blue. The youth music scenes was the first real turf battle between ARA and the fascists, then the organized KKK rallies and counter rallies. Next maybe the coming anti-war movement.

"... and never let them have the streets!"



# REPORTS FROM THE "HOMELAND" FRONT

by - M. Edwards

**BACKLASH: "If you ain't white, you ain't right."**

That was the first statement a group of ARA members heard as they approached a crowd of hundreds of youth engaged in an orgy of nationalistic and clearly racist flag-waving just days after the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks. This was the largest racist demonstration in the U.S. in the wake of the East Coast attacks, to the repeated chants of "US-A", "US-A".

The large crowd of mostly working-class white youths demonstrated three successive nights in Bridgeview, a Chicago suburb with a large Middle Eastern population (roughly a third), starting Wednesday evening September 13th. Riot cops worked to restrain and disperse the crowd that grew as large as 700-1000, and at several points tried to march on a neighborhood mosque (but were not willing to fight it out with the cops). Lining the streets and hanging out of cars, the crowd also jeered people with brown skin, burned Osama Bin Laden images, threw rocks and at one point attacked an Arab man in his car. Some youth masked up and were clearly ready to riot and fight cops to express their patriotism. The Chicago Sun Times quoted one woman participant saying, "I will not sleep peacefully until ALL Arabic, Islamic, Palestinians, etc are deported", a sentiment clearly echoed by the assembly. Racism was so at home that 19-year-old marcher Colin Zarembo had no hesitation saying to television: "I hate Arabs, and I always have!"

It was hard to tell exactly how many were hardcore racists, since the whole event was like a white community event with plenty of neighborhood kids crowding around, curious spectators lining the sidewalks and teens in cars driving back and forth yelling ugly encouragement (in several incidents Muslims were chased or verbally threatened by cars full of white men). That's the most chilling thing, that what had much of the form of a popular community event was really an

upfront racist action. Of course, lynchings in the Deep South were said to be white community celebrations, too, with parents bringing their children to the "fun". The Bridgeview marchers repeated bullshit rumors that have swept the area about Arab-Americans burning U.S. flags and celebrating. As is so common with racist outbreaks, marchers claimed that the whites didn't start the violence. "Tiffany", a moronic student at Moraine Valley Community College, told the press that the marchers saw Arab-American store owners "were looking at us with evil looks...They started it."

The Arab-American residents of Bridgeview and nearby areas report a steady level of harassment, threats, assaults and vandalism. A white resident who refused to hang an American flag in front of his house was threatened with violence by angry neighbors. To the north of the city, "Kill Ragheads" was spray painted prominently in at least 3 areas along a major highway. And these are typical of events that operate below the media radar. Elsewhere in the Chicagoland area, a mosque was firebombed and a Sikh gas station attendant was attacked with a machete. Across the nation, the backlash is growing, with hundreds of reported anti-Arab incidents, including one murder (to say nothing of anti-Sikh incidents, anti-Hindu incidents, etc). The giant "7-11" convenience store chain announced that there were so many racist incidents against store employees (many 7-11 stores employ immigrants as clerks) that they have ordered a doubling-up of all night shift employees. A violent criminal wave has swept America--code-named "patriotism".

Confederate flags fly next to American flags on Bridgeview streets. Several men with Confederate flags were present at the anti-Arab marchers in Bridgeview. A scene that so infuriated one woman from ARA that she ran into the crowd, chewed them out as assholes, and ripped the Confederate rag out of the hands of one startled man. ARA had sent a team down to the rally to scope them out. The U.S. military builds up its attack on



Afghanistan, street violence against Arab-Americans and everyone who "looks Islamic" also has risen. The media pretends that volunteers are flooding military recruiting stations, but everyone understands there's also a war in the "Homeland" against those brown-skinned terrorists that hide among us-they may even be your neighbor. People who argued against racial profiling (now "suspect profiling" in newspeak) a few months ago now throw their support behind it. Passengers and crew forcibly eject brown-skinned passengers from flights because they feel "threatened," but the word racism isn't applied to the situation. For now at least, many Americans are willing to sacrifice some of their comfort and personal freedoms (and even more willing to sacrifice other people's lives & freedoms) for increased security and Big Brother tactics.

Most of the flag-wavers don't care to understand the history and politics that lead to the current situation. They don't want to hear an analysis of U.S. imperialism or Islamic clerical fascism. They don't want to hear that for once Americans get to experience first hand the war we inflict on the rest of the world-that would be "blaming the victims." They simply want a scapegoat.

The media, throwing its full weight behind the U.S. war machine, portrays an image of an America unified against a common foe. Luckily, the truth is different from the media spectacle. Many are still confused about who the foe actually is -as one Bridgeview demonstrator put it: "Kill them all, fuck those commie motherfuckers." More significantly, it's obvious just from talking to people on the street that not everyone is buying into the official call for endless war and the background call for race hatred. Cracks in the facade are already showing. Time to get out the hammers.

### OPPORTUNITY KNOCKS FOR FASCISTS:

"Anyone who's willing to drive a plane into a building to kill Jews is alright by me."

The character of the Bridgeview disturbance and other incidents is both racist-and fascist. With so many Americans willing to run their neighbors out of town, the openly white supremacist right is taking full advantage of the situation. While there is no evidence that white fascists organized the events, they clearly loved them. On the internet, jubilant notices went out to fascists across the country inviting them to join in.

A member of the World Church of the Creator (WCOTC) sent out a call for other racists to join in on the "pro-USA demonstrations (white power)" in Bridgeview. Though the WCOTC did not organize a visible presence, they undoubtedly used the opportunity to recruit. They did demonstrate publicly a week later, in East Peoria, Illinois, holding signs reading "Close Our Border," "America Before Israel," "Arabs & Jews Get Out," and "Deport Aliens."

Other fascists are stepping up to the plate as well. The neo-nazi National Alliance has engaged in several leafletting actions, including an apparent joint operation with the WCOTC in the Boston area.

In general, the World Trade and Pentagon attacks have been met with joy by U.S. fascists-who are eagerly trying to exploit this new white shock but who have also sharply split over what political line to take. To briefly sum it up, the "respectable" far right is pro-American but calling for a Fortress White America policy that turns its back on Globalization and non-white immigration. The open fascists are split over which takes priority: white racist unity or fighting "ZOG". Some want to push popular white racist organizing against immigrants, even if it takes overtly pro-U.S. forms. Others want to stay with the radical program of calling for the overthrow of the U.S. government and the destruction of U.S. society-a task they're willing to have Bin Laden's help on. Naturally, there is still plenty they all do agree on.

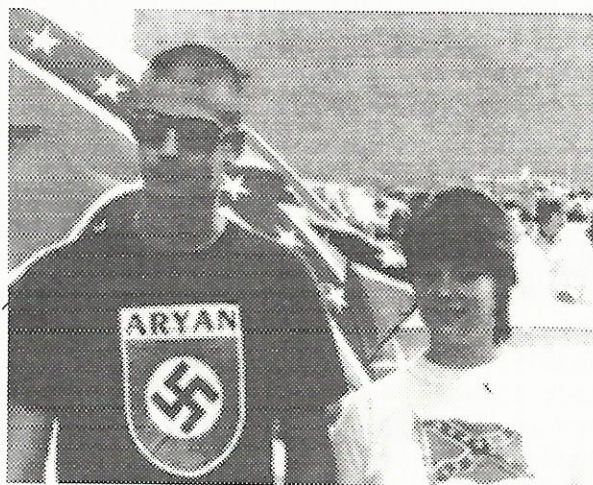
Reform Party presidential candidate Pat Buchanan, the most "respectable" of the far right leaders, responded to the crisis by issuing what could pass for a blurred anti-imperialist position. The U.S. should choose



"republic not empire". He condemned the terrorists, but really stressed that instead of being supercop for a global corporate economy the U.S. should have strictly Nationalist priorities.

Pat Buchanan, having learned from his successful spotlight role in the Seattle & Washington Anti-Globalization events, is trying to sound radical by labeling the U.S. as an "empire" and by calling for the demilitarization of U.S. foreign policy (actually, he wants the xenophobic militarization of domestic America, but here his talk is hard pressed to keep up with president Bush's actual policies).

Not to be left out in the cold, the Christian rightwing theocrats are also pushing their agenda. Jerry Falwell's infamous attempt to blame the attacks on God's displeasure with "the pagans, and the abortionists, and the feminists, and the gays and lesbians" was just the beginning of the sweeping backlash. Other Christian rightwing figures have attempted to characterize the conflict as a religious war, fueled by Bush's retracted comments about a "crusade" against Afghanistan. Perhaps no one put this position more succinctly than a woman writer for the influential conservative Republican magazine National Review: "We should invade their countries, kill their leaders and convert them to Christianity."



## CONTRADICTIONS AND DISAGREEMENTS

Most fascists coyly blame the attacks on U.S. support for Israel. Writes David Duke: "Let me be very, very blunt. The ultimate cause of our terrorism stems directly from our involvement in and support of the criminal behavior of Israel." Actually most fascists are saying quite a bit more - the U.S. is a legitimate target since it is really controlled by the Jews (i.e. their term ZOG or "Zionist Occupation Government").

White supremacists are also quick to lay the blame on immigration policies, arguing that terrorists wouldn't be able to so easily infiltrate if U.S. borders were closed to non-whites and there was heavier racist repression of immigrants. This position unites the most undisguised white fascists with the Pat Buchanans and the conservative Christian wing of the Republican Party and runs all the way into the Whitest House.

Bin Laden's arguments resonate with his fellow fascists in America. Even the white supremacist WCOTC approvingly quotes bin Laden on their fliers:

"So we tell the Americans as people, and we tell the mothers of soldiers and American mothers in general that if they value their lives and the lives of their children, to find a nationalistic government that will look after their interests and not the interests of the Jews.

"The National Alliance has also picked up this Bin Laden advice and promotes it frequently on its website.

Fascist attempts to capitalize on the situation, however, are hindered by some serious political contradictions and internal disagreements. Many revolutionary racists initially expressed admiration and support for the attacks, before retreating to safer positions. Billy Roper, the National Alliance's Membership Coordinator, wrote just after the attack: "Anyone who's willing to drive a plane into a building to kill Jews is alright by me." Other fascists have criticized this position, primarily because



of the other whites who were killed, but for the most part they still find Jews and race the main causes.

So some fascists are "anti-war" in the present crisis, and even going so far as to claim both Palestinians and those responsible for their attacks as allies against "ZOG." "The enemy of our enemy is, for now at least, our friend," claims Billy Roper. These politics drag the extreme right even closer to the Third Position camp that mimics leftist national liberation politics, but it also exposes a contradiction in groups that on the other hand call for expatriating and/or exterminating such "allies." As fascist Tom Metzger puts it, while at the same time calling for white racists to ally with the Bin Ladens: "The Moslems will have to be dealt with at some point with extreme methods."

In the shock and questioning that has followed the September 11th events, the fascists are pushing for many new recruits and new racist propaganda campaigns. But while we are used to white fascists being jingoistic and justifying upfront racial selection as Americanism, today those positions are really mainstream U.S. government policies. Fascism has evolved into a radical form, is toying with Third World alliances, and even becoming "anti-war". We can definitely expect them to take advantage of anti-government & anti-war feeling, as well as infiltrate anti-war activity

The following excerpts illustrate four different and not necessarily compatible positions in the fascist movement. William Pierce, of the National Alliance takes a straightforward anti-war antigovernment, pro bin Laden position. Matt Hale of the WCOTC spouts the usual white supremacist line. The e-mail exchange with Tom Metzger of WAR illustrates the tension between an anti U.S. government position and white solidarity. Finally, surprisingly, the position from the BNP organizer sounds very much like a Strasserite "Third Position" analysis.

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"It will, of course, be yet another tragedy for Americans if we let ourselves be lied into another war to advance the interests of the Jews at the expense of our own. There is an even greater tragedy looming than another war, however: that is the loss of our most fundamental freedoms.

The same people who are using the September 11 attack as a pretext to push America into a full-scale war on behalf of Israel also are using it as a pretext to stifle dissent. They have the lemmings under control, but they're worried about that 20 per cent or so of the population who aren't buying the television propaganda that the attack was "unprovoked" and that it was an attack on "freedom and democracy." They want to use the power of government to shut these people up, so that they can't influence others."

-William Pierce, National Alliance-

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"The anti-White, pro-Kike United States Government is pushing this country headlong into a war that it cannot win and in the process is disseminating falsehoods to the people on a scale that would make even a Jew blush. For example, this Jewish Occupational Government claims that the attacks occurred because the "terrorists" hate our "freedom". Not so. The "terrorists" simply hate, and rightly so, the fact that America is used as a battering ram for the Jews... Therefore, take away this support of Israel and you will take away the whole motivation for the terrorist acts..."





"...Nor does it take a rocket scientist to realize that the more "diverse" America becomes, the more DANGEROUS life in America becomes. Simply put, the more you flood a land with different and indeed conflicting people, the more ripe that land is for self-destruction... History demonstrates with complete clarity that the only way that a country can have lasting stability is to have ONE Race and ONE race only within its borders. How asinine it is to flood America with the TURD WORLD and expect it to remain a First World nation! How asinine it is to say that all values, cultures, and RACES are equal and then act surprised when nonwhites come to America and pursue policies that are harmful to the interests and indeed the very lives of American citizens!"

"This is why we blame the Jewish Occupational Government-the United States Government for these things... The government never asked you or I whether we want sand niggers in America. They just opened the door wide and invited them in and then express dismay when they seek harm. ..Now is the time to step up activism on all fronts... LET'S QUIT BEING HUMAN SHIELDS FOR ISRAEL. May we together win this Racial Holy War. RAHOWA!"  
-Matt Hale, WCOTC-

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"Going to war with the rag heads can be a big mistake since the jews are their enemy and they will be our allies. When we strike one rag head nation, all will reply dragging this into a world affair resulting in the U.S AND Europe (white homeland) rallying under the Jew banner wiping out Israel's enemy giving Europe and the U.S. a stronger tie with the JEWS (allowing them to sink their meat hooks in deeper) and with the sandniggers gone they will turn all attention on us. We must not do their bidding we must not drive the nail in our coffin.  
-WAR Associate-

"Terrible Tommy (Metzger) basically agrees as long as all understand I consider the Moslem move throughout the world as a more dangerous threat than Red China. It is moving like an army of locusts throughout Asia. The Moslems will have to be dealt with at some point with extreme methods. For now I

agree that to go bananas is helping the kikes solidify their hold, especially with the help of the Christian churches and the media. However, the actions of the mob in the streets against the ragheads does feed a more long range program that will aid later in expulsion. Standard line is WE DON'T CARE WHAT YOU THINK OR WHAT YOU WORSHIP, WE JUST WANT YOU OUT!"

-Tom Metzger, White Aryan Resistance-

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"Now, however, the chickens are coming home to roost. This afternoon a truly wonderful thing has happened: the oppressed of the earth have turned around and have shown that they do not have to be nature's eternal victims. They have shown that the poor, the downtrodden, and the powerless can strike back at the very heart of the dark forces that are oppressing them. This time it was not Palestinian children who cowered in fear as death came from the skies" this time it was the very fat bankers and financiers who sustain the terroristic regime of Sharon. This time it was those very military men who mastermind the attacks on the women and children of Iraq. They thought they were so safe as they planned death and destruction from their comfortable offices in the Pentagon, and as they did their dirty deals in the World Trade Center. Now they have been given a bloody nose that they will never forget.

Today was a glorious day. May there be many others like it."

-David Michael, British National Party-



## KNOW YOUR ENEMY?

**Q. & A. About Osama Bin Laden, the Taliban, and the CIA - by J. Sakai**

**Q.** I heard President Bush say that after the World Trade Towers massacre, America must support a new "crusade" to wipe out Islamic terrorism worldwide.

**A.** Millions of people in the Muslim world were stunned at his choice of words. Since the original "crusades" were the mass invasions of the Middle East by feudal European armies bent on looting, slaughter and colonial conquest (all in god's name, of course). It would be like the Mayor of New York City announcing that to fight drugs New Yorkers had to support a new "lynching". Maybe Bush was truthful there, for once.

**Q.** But isn't this a war of modern Western democracies vs. Islamic fundamentalist terrorism, one that's so backward it's oppressing women and generally trying to force everyone to live in some tribal or feudal society?

**A.** That's what the corporate media, the politicians and the Pentagon all say. What's remarkable about the picture they draw is that none of it is true.

This is a war between Western multinational capitalism, led by the u.s.a., against a pan-Islamic fascist movement that is not only capitalist itself but is as modern as the cell phone. The key word here isn't "islamic", it's "fascist". The wonderful u.s. multinational alliance includes almost all the brutal dictatorships in the world--and is generating new waves of racism right here--so we can bet this war isn't about democracy. On either side.

**Q.** How can the Taliban and Osama Bin Laden be modern? Don't they want everyone to go back to some like tribal life ruled by religion?

**A.** The Taliban rule over a very poor, isolated, war-torn country, their religious officials and soldiers are certainly uneducated in Western terms, but that doesn't keep them as an organization from being modern. Afghanistan as a society is backward,

but the Taliban as a political operation is modern. They were created out of the Pakistan refugee camps by the c.i.a. during the 1980s, for the war against the Russians in Afghanistan. And you can't get too much more modern than that. The Taliban's class politics and social program are completely alien to traditional Afghan society.

Take the single most notorious part of their government--the forced removal of women from jobs, education and public life. Where women are not even supposed to move about the streets or go to public events, even when wearing the all-enveloping clothing to hide their face and body. Many women were beaten, terrorized and even in some cases killed by the Taliban's roving men's patrols in order to convince them to stay in what amounts to mass house arrest.

There is no precedent for this in traditional Afghan culture, sexist as it was and is. In the traditional rural village life (and 80% of the population was rural) women were not supposed to show themselves barefaced to men outside their family. But in isolated agricultural communities, where everyone was often part of the same extended clan, women worked side by side with men outside daily and could go for months without seeing a stranger. In the cities, as a practical matter, this rule was largely ignored. Nothing like what's going down now for women under fascist rule. And that's an oppression "Made in the USA".

**Q.** Wait a minute, you're saying that the c.i.a. and the u.s. government is responsible for the Taliban?

**A.** That's actually very well known. We have to go back a moment to the Afghan civil war, since that's where all the players here--the c.i.a. & u.s. government, the Islamic right-wing, and Osama Bin Laden himself--got together. We also have to make the distinction between the Islamic political right and the fascist movements that come out of it.



Just like ultra-orthodox Judaism and fundamentalist Christianity, in early Islam there was a unity of religious and civil authority (much of Islam's religious teachings, again like Judaism's, concern how to live daily life--marital relations, business dealings, law & order, public health, etc). The Roamin' Catholic Church, we should recall, once had armies, ships, vast plantations and slaves, and still has the unique international diplomatic status of a nation-state (and befriends abortion clinic bombers, speaking of terrorism).

What we often call "Islamic fundamentalism" has been around at least since 1928, when Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood was founded. A belief in the strict teachings of the Koran has existed within Islam since the desert tribes of the Arabian peninsula in the 7th century A.D., of course. But the modern political movement to answer the social ills of a Muslim world under Western colonial domination by going back to a society organized according to conservative religious teachings began as an anti-colonial movement. Led by conservative clerics and local merchants, it was opposed to British capitalism's control over the Egyptian royal government and economy. As well as the corruption of Muslim society that they blamed on Western cultural influence.

Their answer was to return society to the original laws & governing of the Koran. The Prophet Mohammed's immediate successors ruled the larger Muslim world using the title of Caliph. Right-wing Islamic movements often call for a return to a united Muslim world ruled by a supreme religious leader as Caliph (one Turkish right-wing organization even is called "The Caliphate State"). This right-wing internationalism gets considerably diluted once these capitalistic men get close to power, of course. The Taliban, which owes much to the fellow Islamic state of Pakistan, promptly refused a request to sign a border treaty once they took state power. In fact, the Taliban have taken up former Afghan royal government claims to a slice of territory also claimed by Pakistan.

The Muslim Brotherhood in the 1930s and

1940s founded its own religious ideological schools, organized cells, and started harassing and demonstrating against the British occupation with the quiet consent of the monarchy. Taking the logical next step by dealing with those Muslims who were judged to be collaborators, they started assassinating Egyptian officials, including the police chief (killed by a thrown bomb while policing a student demonstration) and the prime minister. Under the later nationalist military regime of Gen. Gamel Nasser, the Muslim Brotherhood was outlawed and hunted down during the 1950-60s. Thousands of rightists were imprisoned, killed or forced into an exile where they help spark new groups in other countries.

Now the Islamic right has a mass following throughout the world, since it feeds on the neocolonial poverty, corruption, and hopelessness of pro-Western regimes. Organized into hundreds of different parties, organizations, religious schools, aid societies, charitable funds and armed groups, the Islamic right has also had the advantage of being supported at critical moments by capitalist governments wanting to divert mass sympathy for anti-capitalism.

When Egyptian ruler Gen. Anwar Sadat was preparing to make detente with Israel and the West, he emptied the prisons of rightists and revived the Muslim Brotherhood as a more moderate organization, still popular but one which had agreed to divert its more directly revolutionary activities abroad (it's office near the Afghan border was a center for Osama Bin Laden and the streams of other Muslim men coming to join the c.i.a.'s jihad). And during their long anti-guerrilla war with the leftist P.L.O., the Israeli security forces covertly encouraged the growth of right-wing alternatives like Hamas (which popularized the suicide car bombers in the early 1980s) in order to undermine the more politically dangerous left.

Just as we have seen armed neo-fascists grow out of the fertile soil of the Christian Right and the anti-abortion movement here in the u.s., the larger Islamic Right has been the recruiting ground for a new pan-Islamic



fascist movement. There are many different organizations in addition to Osama Bin Laden's al-Qaeda ( "the Military Base" )-- such as Algeria's Armed Islamic Group, which has been conducting a bloody terrorist war with the ruling military junta since the army overruled the 1992 election victory of the conservative Islamic opposition party.

It was in Afghanistan, however, that "the largest covert operation" in c.i.a. history implemented the bold strategy of making pan-Islamic fascism into a world force. From April 1978, when the pro-Russian Peoples Democratic Party took over the central government in Kabul in a military coup, the NATO powers began to arm and train the conservative rebels, criminal groups and warlords who were waging a traditional guerilla war against the government ( armed clashes, coups and rebellions are the normal medium of Afghan politics). In December 1979 the first units of Russian troops began arriving.

By February 1980, when a Washington Post report noted the buildup of u.s. involvement, the c.i.a. was pouring funds and weapons into a new shadow army of tens of thousands of full-time soldiers that would be largely recruited out of the swelling refugee camps, ideologically trained in the hundreds of new c.i.a.-financed right-wing madrassa (live-in religious schools for boys, that were the only source of education for children of the camps and most poor Pakistani families) and managed by their allies, the Pakistan military's ISI (Inter-Service Intelligence).

But in an important secret policy decision, the u.s.government decided to internationalize the conflict: the new goal would be to create a new global Islamic jihad that would invade not only Afghanistan but the Islamic regions of the former U.S.S.R. and break up America's main Communist enemy into chaos. And that is where Osama Bin Laden comes in.

Q. I've read in the newspapers how he was a volunteer and joined the mujaheddin. Was there something more, like was he a c.i.a. agent?

A. Not surprisingly, Bin Laden has explicitly denied ever being involved with the c.i.a. Or directly receiving military training from them or any Americans (not too meaningful, since the military training was largely done by the Pakistani military and mercenaries). This may well be true, but he was not a simple rich kid volunteer but rather someone who was selected and approved to play a major leadership role in this covert operation by the c.i.a. and its Muslim allies. This may be why the Saudi government is rumored to have been pressuring the Taliban for years to not turn over Bin Laden for u.s. trial, but to either execute him or keep him isolated in Afghanistan.

Ahmed Rashid of Pakistan is a member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists (a project of the Center for Public Integrity). For many years he has been the Afghanistan correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review and The Daily Telegraph of London. As he wrote in his book on the Taliban:

"In 1986, CIA chief William Casey had stepped up the war against the Soviet Union by taking three significant, but at that time highly secret, measures."

"He had persuaded the US Congress to provide the Mujaheddin with American-made Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to shoot down Soviet planes and provide US advisers to train the guerrillas. Until then, no US-made weapons or personnel had been used directly in the war effort."

"The CIA, Britain's MI6 and the ISI also agreed on a provocative plan to launch guerilla attacks into the Soviet Socialist Republics of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, the soft Muslim underbelly of the Soviet state from where Soviet troops in Afghanistan received their supplies. The task was given to the ISI's favorite Mujaheddin leader, Gulbuddin Hikmetyar. In March 1987, small units crossed the Amu Darya river from bases in northern Afghanistan and launched their first rocket attacks against villages in Tajikistan. Casey was delighted with the



news, and on his next secret trip to Pakistan he crossed the border into Afghanistan with [the late Pakistani] President Zia [ul- Haq] to review the Mujaheddin groups."

"Thirdly, Casey committed CIA support to a long-standing ISI initiative to recruit radical Muslims from around the world to come to Pakistan and fight with the Afghan Mujaheddin. The ISI had encouraged this since 1982, and by now all the other players had their reasons for supporting the idea..."

"...Between 1982 and 1992, some 35,000 Muslim radicals from 43 Islamic countries in the Middle East, North and East Africa, Central Asia and the Far East would pass their baptism under fire with the Afghan Mujaheddin. Tens of thousands more foreign Muslim radicals came to study in the hundreds of new madrassas that Zia's military government began to fund in Pakistan and along the Afghan border. Eventually more than 100,000 Muslim radicals were to have direct contact with Pakistan and Afghanistan and be influenced by the jihad."

"In camps near Peshawar and in Afghanistan, these radicals met each other for the first time and studied, trained and fought together. It was the first opportunity for most of them to learn about Islamic movements in other countries, and they forged tactical and ideological links that would serve them well in the future. The camps became virtual universities for future Islamic radicalism. None of the intelligence agencies involved wanted to consider the consequences of bringing together thousands of Islamic radicals from all over the world. "

"What was more important in the world view of history? The Taliban or the fall of the Soviet Empire? A few stirred-up Muslims or the liberation of Central Europe and the end of the Cold War?" said Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former US National Security Adviser. American citizens woke up to the consequences only when Afghanistan-trained Islamic militants blew up the World Trade Center in New York in 1993, killing six peo-

ple and injuring 1,000..."

"Among these thousands of foreign recruits was a young Saudi student, Osama Bin Laden, the son of a Yemeni construction magnate, Mohammed Bin Laden, who was a close friend of the late King Faisal and whose company had become fabulously wealthy on the contracts to renovate and expand the Holy Mosques of Mecca and Medina. The ISI had long wanted Prince Turki Bin Faisal, the head of Istakhbarat, the Saudi Intelligence Service, to provide a Royal Prince to lead the Saudi contingent in order to show Muslims the commitment of the Royal Family to the jihad. Only poorer Saudis, students, taxi drivers and Bedouin tribesmen had so far arrived to fight. But no pampered Saudi prince was ready to rough it out in the Afghan mountains. Bin Laden, although not a royal, was close enough to the royals and certainly wealthy enough to lead the Saudi contingent. Bin Laden, Prince Turki... were to become firm friends and allies in a common cause..."

"He first traveled to Peshawar in 1980 and met the Mujaheddin leaders, returning frequently with Saudi donations for the cause until 1982, when he decided to settle in Peshawar. He brought in his company engineers and heavy construction equipment to help build roads and depots for the Mujaheddin. In 1986, he helped build the Khost tunnel complex, which the CIA was funding as a major arms storage depot, training facility and medical center for the Mujaheddin, deep under the mountains close to the Pakistan border. For the first time in Khost he set up his own training camp for Arab Afghans, who now increasingly saw this lanky, wealthy and charismatic Saudi as their leader."

To bottom line this: Osama Bin Laden went to Afghanistan as a government designated leader in Saudi efforts within the c.i.a. jihad, where his important role soon made him a highly visible figure to other Muslim militants. In 1989 he set up his organization, al-Qaeda ( "the Military Base"), as a help center for Muslims who had fought with the mujaheddin and their families. After he broke with the Saudi royal family in 1992



and "went rogue" he began enlisting veterans and other recruits in a new jihad against the u.s.

In August 1996, from his new home in Afghanistan where he had moved his three wives and 13 children, he issued his first declaration of war against America, whom he accused of subverting the Saudi royal government and profaning the especially sacred land of the Arabian peninsula with the continued occupation by infidel u.s. soldiers : "The walls of oppression and humiliation cannot be demolished except in a rain of bullets." You know the rest.

**Q. But even if the c.i.a. was involved, why do you call the Taliban or Bin Laden "fascist"? Isn't it obviously more of a religious movement?**

**A.** It's in character for fascist movements, which are vicious cutting edge products of modern capitalism, to clothe themselves in some imagined glorious past. The first fascist state, that of Italy's Mussolini, called itself a nationalist recreation of the ancient Roman Empire. Germany's Nazi movement called itself the rebirth of the warrior Aryan race (which never existed in real life). Of course, Italian and Germany fascists believed all that, just as the Taliban's clergy and soldier cadre believe in their cooked-up religious ideology.

By "fascist" we don't just mean repressive or undemocratic, although they're obviously that (Note: this discussion has been influenced by a new theoretical paper, Don Hamerquist's "Fascism & Anti-Fascism", which we urge everyone interested in this subject to check out). Fascism is a very specific type of political rule. When normal capitalist society goes into severe crisis, one where the oppressed are in rebellion or there is unmanageable class conflicts and the state is unable to function, there is both a need and a vacuum for new mass forces to enter the political arena.

One thing we should remember is that there are other people than just the wealthiest

capitalists who have an interest in saving capitalism. Fascism organizes masses of such lower-middle class and declassed men to seize the state power and violently reorganize society. This revolution from the radical Right happens with the consent and help of world capitalism even though they may have state power ripped from their own hands. That is, the big corporate capitalism benefits from fascism but it does not rule during this interlude.

This isn't hard to picture. In the struggle to prevent liberation from below, new masses of men enter to take up arms for restoring basic capitalism. The old discredited state, thick with corruption and ineptitude, is overthrown. The old failed order is destroyed and many are killed as a chilling example. "Peace" is restored by overwhelming violence, and society is forcibly reorganized to remove dissident or alien elements who are blamed for past injustices. And a new capitalist economy is cobbled together that seems to reward the new society (as German fascism seemed for years to bring new successes to their newly Aryanized nation).

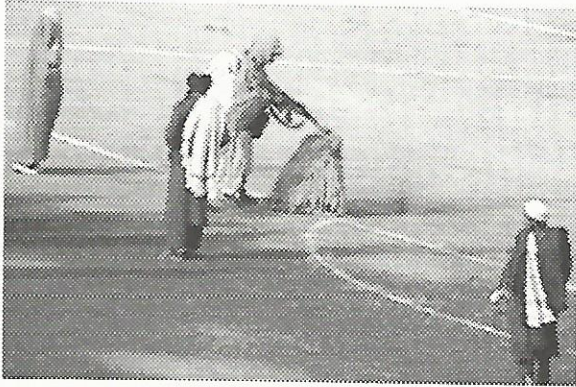
This fascism has definite characteristics, whether in Nazi Germany or the Taliban's Afghanistan or the u.s. Aryan Brotherhood: It taps into and is filled with genuine revolutionary anger and sentiments in distorted form.

There is a supreme leader over a sharply hierarchical state. It exults in the violent military experience that is said to be "natural" for men, while scorning the soft cowardly life of the bourgeois intellectuals and officials and moneylenders. Along with that it restricts women to the margins of an essentially male society. While usual classes even under capitalism are engaged in economic production and distribution, fascism develops a criminal economy more focused on war, looting and enslavement.

Looking at the Taliban's actual record reveals much in unity with this fascist pattern but little that is spiritual. Like their fellow Serbian fascists, the Taliban have conducted ethnic cleansing campaigns, terrorizing thousands of Afghans from the



minority Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek and other peoples. Their apparent goal is to minimize all other peoples besides the Pashtun in Afghanistan, making for a monoethnic society. Even those who seem to pose no threat aren't safe. Sikhs, who were a small number of traders and craftsmen whose families had emigrated from India, were singled out for harassment somewhat like Jews in Europe. Ajit Singh, a refugee from Jalalabad, recounted: "They told us what to do, they forced us to wear yellow turbans, they made nasty remarks at our families, our children. Life there was unsupportable."



**Q.** So what do you mean about the Taliban, for instance, their economy being different?

**A.** The Taliban state is fairly uninterested in normal production and distribution, the growing of grain, getting medicine to sick children, making shoes and fixing of sewers type of thing. The Taliban actually lives in the trance state of a different economy.

First off, they really fit the stripped down old left definition of what a state is--"a special body of armed men". A significant part of their income has come from taxing or even taking part in the drug trade that the mujaheddin first started in the 1980s under c.i.a. supervision (even though the Taliban, in an effort to win international support, banned

poppy growing last year, due to their large stockpiles opium traffic across the border has never faltered). Afghan "freedom fighters" raised Afghanistan's share of the world heroin supply from zero in 1979 to 60-75% now by u.s. government and UN statistics. In mujaheddin controlled areas peasants were

ordered at gunpoint to shift to poppy cultivation. This is actually only part of their major economic preoccupation.

The Taliban has always been financially supported by--and is interlocked with classwise--the large Pakistani transport companies and smuggling mafias. That is, the Taliban leaders are local bourgeoisie themselves, but of a special kind. Because of its central location and long borders in rough terrain, Afghanistan has always been a hub where commercial traffic goes from Pakistan and its ports across the borders into Iran and up into the former U.S.S.R. (via Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan). And back. We're talking about many hundreds of trucks a day loaded with televisions, computers, silk clothing, food, diesel fuel, rifles, drugs. All smuggled, and usually on stolen trucks. Again, a corrosive trade worth billions of dollars a year.

The transporters are certainly businessmen, but what we'd call small local capitalists. They don't care too much for the multinational corporations and the WTO, for obvious reasons. What they do care about is having a stable national government over Afghanistan's highways. During the free-for-all period right after the pro-Russian Kabul government fell in 1992 and before the Taliban took over in 1995-96, each local warlord and his gunmen set up roadblocks. A long truck convoy might be "taxed" dozens of times. After the Russian military occupation collapsed in 1989, the various mujaheddin warlord armies continued tearing the country up in intensified warfare against each other and the besieged Kabul regime. The c.i.a.'s (and Osama Bin Laden's) favorite commander, the notorious Gulbuddin Hikmetyar (respected as very pious for having had acid thrown into the faces of women who didn't wear veils) led the "brotherly" attack against the first mujaheddin coalition government in Kabul in 1992, killing some 10,000 civilians in over a year of internecine shelling. Violent chaos is bad for business.

So the Pakistani smuggling mafias started not only backing the Taliban financially and



politically, but giving them shares in the syndicates and helping the various leaders buy trucks for their families and followers to join the business. The Taliban ("the Students"), a new movement of Pushtun nationalist supremacy of students out of the right-wing madrassas in Pakistan (many as young as 14 or 15), led thousands of fresh but inexperienced fighters in a new jihad to unify all the armies and end the fighting. Like a miracle, the Taliban marched on the capital and beyond, sweeping armies before them by the simple expedient of buying the loyalty of warlord commanders with cash supplied by their backers. Their forces swelled as they incorporated old warlord forces into their new army of Pushtun unity, as well as being joined by some 20,000 enthusiastic new recruits from the refugee camps in Pakistan. This is the clerical military regime that came to rule Afghanistan.

Ahmed Rashid comments: "After taking the capital, the Taliban levied an average of 6000 rupees (US\$150) for a truck traveling from Peshawar to Kabel, compared to the 30,000-50,000 rupees, which truckers paid before." The Pakistan Central Board of Revenue estimated that this illegal smuggling trade cost the poor country at least US\$600 million in 1997/98. Entire local industries went into depression because of the sales of smuggled "brand name" products from Japan and the West.

In class terms the Taliban maintain a ruthlessly thriving capitalism, but as a fascist niche ruling class that doesn't feel that it needs NATO or the World Bank and cares nothing for their fate. There is wide-spread class antagonism towards Western imperialism among Muslim local capitalists in many countries, who see no advantage to their own class in having the big multinational corporations take over even the small corners of the Third World. And modern society in the Muslim world keeps turning out large numbers of declassed, educated young men who have no prospects in their poverty-stricken countries. The c.i.a. was surprised at the World Trade attack, since their "terrorist suicide bomber" profile predicted 19 year old men who were illiterate and poor while the actual hijackers were educated, multi-

lingual and older. But two days before the attack, Egypt's president Mubarek warned of "an explosion outside the region" if the u.s. did not change its Middle East policies. Not everybody was surprised.

**Q. So what do these Islamic fascists want? Would a better u.s. foreign policy prevent more mass terrorist attacks here in America?**

**A.** In your dreams! All of a sudden, we are hearing this "be nice" foreign policy line being urged. In a nationwide address recently on the crisis, Minister Louis Farrakhan advised America: "A better foreign policy would defeat terrorism forever in the world..." (perhaps Farrakhan was referring to his own little foreign policy, where he got paid for publicly supporting the Sudanese islamic dictatorship's genocidal war against Black Afrikan Sudanese).

Many voices are playing into this self-pitying American self-absorption about their own safety, sometimes to the point of the delusional. Respected academic Noam Chomsky has written that the Trade was a "horrendous crime...The primary victims, as usual, were working people: janitors, secretaries, firemen..." No, the primarily victims were stockbrokers and executives and computer software designers--an analysis of the first 2100 victims showed that they were 80% male, average age of forty, mostly white-collar professionals and executives from the banking, stock market, and computer industries (it was the World Trade Center, you know, not some ordinary office building). And mostly white (as were the firemen from the overwhelming white apartheid FDNY, since elite blue-collar jobs are usually reserved for white men). It doesn't make the pure human tragedy any less, but these are the very people who could care less then or now about the suffering and tragedy of the women of Afghanistan. As the Sixties saying goes, "What goes around comes around."

That's why more than a few people in the world have conflicted feelings about what happened. The World Trade Center, the tallest buildings in America, was built to be the active nerve center and symbol of



White America's financial power over the human race. The builders even said something like that. A financial equivalent to the military's Pentagon. If this stands for a supercapitalism that has guided and arranged the impoverishment, mass killings, bombings, torture and repression all over the world (with complaisant u.s. public approval and indifference), is it so surprising that many said "It's time they got some of what they inflict on others!"?

Perhaps the conflicted feelings are most sharply evident in the Black community. Eyebrows were raised at a recent Gallop poll where 71% of Black people polled favored special more intense security checks for Arab Americans at airports. At the grass-roots, the Black Nation is very pro law & order (most are for the death penalty, stop-and-frisk, harsher sentencing, the whole nine yards). Understandable for people who bear the brunt of the mass violent crime and addiction that capitalism creates. At the same time, more than a few felt that what happened was an inevitable lesson for White America. "Chicago Sun-Times" columnist Mary Mitchell recently repeated what a caller told her. This Black woman said that "while she felt compassion for the suffering families, she didn't feel that the attack had anything to do with her."

"It was like I wanted to say, 'I told you so'", she said. "'Now they want us to unite, but so many things happened to me growing up in the South. I can't seem to feel like it is my problem. I think a lot of us feel like that.'" Complex feelings for a complex situation, because it's not the simple tragedy that the capitalist media has been promoting.

And as for what the Islamic fascists want, it's very simple--they want Western imperialism out of the Muslim world so that they can take over. No troops in Saudi bases, no F-16s for Israel, no air raids on Arab capitals, no Hollywood movies or "Coca-Colonization". They want the corrupt neo-colonial Arab regimes abandoned by the West, just like the Russian army had to abandon the dictatorial Najibullah regime in Afghanistan, so that the Islamic fascists

can stage lumpen-capitalist revolutions and take state power themselves. Of course, that's something multinational capitalism could live with here and there, eventually making peace just like it's gradually doing with Iran.

As for not having terrorist attacks in the u.s., the genie is way out of the bottle. Who would have thought some years ago that a Jewish day care center for four year-olds in Los Angeles would get shot up? Nope, the decaying capitalist world has gone postal. We all know it, too. The question is what will replace the old world?

#### Q. What do you think of this coming war?

A. Obviously, there's lots we ordinary people don't know and lots that will surprise us. I don't think this war is inevitably going to be what people fear or expect. Sure the u.s. government will go after al-Qaeda, try to make an example of them. Which may work or not. But this fight with pan-Islamic fascism is a family feud within capitalism, after all. Western imperialism is more accustomed to covertly allying with or tolerating these terrorist groups (like the c.i.a. and it's u.s. proteges "Omega 7" and "Jewish Defense League", who were killing people in bombings while being protected by Washington). Don't be surprised to find out later that Washington has made secret deals with various Islamic fascisms.

One thing is really important. The clash between these conflicting capitalistic forces--each of whom has a track record of slaughtering people like you'd light up a cigarette--underlines how essential it is that we fight for liberated space for everyone, mentally and physically.

I say this because there's a lot of hypocrisy going around about the women of Afghanistan. Everyone's pretending to be oh so sympathetic, and even the u.s. State department has a web site opposing sexism by the Taliban. But Western imperialism did the deed, knowingly. It was a cold fuck. Right after the pro-Russian takeover in



1978, the new government tried to enact a modernizing program to win popular support. It ended debt slavery and usury by the big landowners, which angered the conservative mullahs (some of whom were rich landlords). It started building hundreds of schools and clinics in the rural areas. But then, trying to follow the Russian formula for some how manufacturing "East Germany in the desert", the Kabul military regime started passing laws in 1978 freeing women. They banned

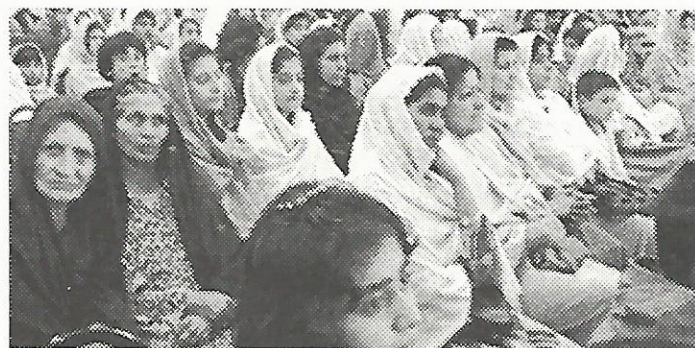
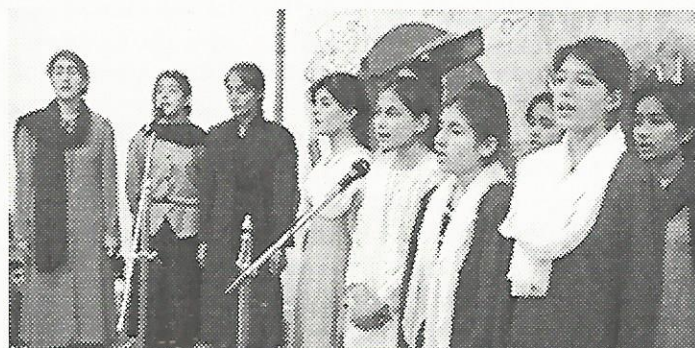
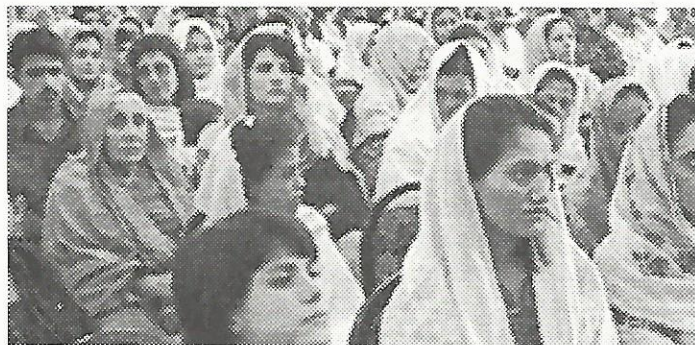
child marriage as well as the practice of selling girl-children. Girls were to be admitted to schools as well as boys. Women would have the right of deciding whom to marry, and perhaps even the right of divorce.

Tactically speaking, from their point of view, that was a fatal error. That was the sparking point for the large-scale guerrilla rebellion against the Kabul regime. The mullahs and landlords now had an issue that even the poorest man could be swayed by--his power to own women was being taken away! And the c.i.a. and the Western capitalist powers jumped right in on the bandwagon, knowing and not caring that millions of Afghan women would pay the heavy price.

Robert Fisk, a journalist who was in Afghanistan with the London Times, remarks on this covert policy against Afghan women: "I was working for The Times in 1980, and just south of Kabul I picked up a very disturbing story. A group of religious mujahedin fighters had attacked a school because the communist regime had forced girls to be educated alongside boys. So they had bombed the school, murdered the head teacher's wife and cut off her husband's head. It was all true. But when The Times ran the story, the Foreign Office complained to the foreign desk that my report gave support to the Russians. Of course. Because the Afghan fighters were the good guys. Because Osama bin Laden was a good guy. Charles Douglas-Home, then editor of The Times would always insist that Afghan guerrillas were called "freedom fighters" in the headline. There was nothing you couldn't do with words. "

More than a few liberals and radicals in the u.s. supported the "freedom fighters" in Afghanistan in the 1980s, not stopping for a minute to find out why the rebellion started and what Afghan women thought of it. Women's lives are so unimportant that they are less than the most distant star, after all. Right now there are women in Afghanistan stubbornly conducting illegal underground schools for girl-children, just as there have been Afghan women health workers running illegal underground clinics for women although they have almost no medicines or access to medical equipment. There are freedom fighters in the world, more than we sometimes think. They're who I want to think about.

The END



RAWA - international women's day rally



## RAWA

### Anti-Fascists in Afghanistan - by Tricia Militia

The condition of women's lives under the Taliban is the most oppressive manifestation of patriarchy today, and this condition is fascist. It's fascism in its attempts to completely control not only women & girls, but the whole society based on violence, domination, and the negation of humanity. Women and girls feel the full extent of these oppressive conditions. They are not even seen as human, they are not to be seen at all.

Fascism has always been patriarchal and male supremacist, but we normally look at it as defined by white supremacy and anti-semitism. In these newly emerging forms of fascism, women's oppression is playing the central role.

A brave group of women standing up to this is the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Although we do not know and might not agree with all that they stand for, we do know they fought against the Soviets, fight the fascist Taliban, oppose the U.S. government, and work to smash patriarchy. They risk their lives to teach women and girls how to read, provide healthcare and take to the streets and demonstrate.

RAWA is the only legitimate force to be supported in Afghanistan that we know. Supporting RAWA gives us the opportunity to broaden how we deal with fascism, women's oppression, and the war by attacking both the U.S. and the Taliban's Islamic fascism.

We need to develop our own politics around the issues RAWA raises, and we have to deal with what's going on. This is a tangible way to do it.

There are lots of potentials for direct action campaigns against the authors of the policies that created and supported the Taliban and similar groupings.

A partial list of the Taliban's laws against women:

- Complete ban on women's work outside the home,

- Complete ban on women's activity outside the home unless accompanied by a mahram (close male relative such as a father, brother or husband).

- Ban on women studying at schools, universities or any other educational institution.

- Whipping of women in public for having uncovered ankles

- Ban on women laughing loudly

- Ban on women wearing high heel shoes, which would produce sound while walking. (A man must not hear a woman's footsteps.)

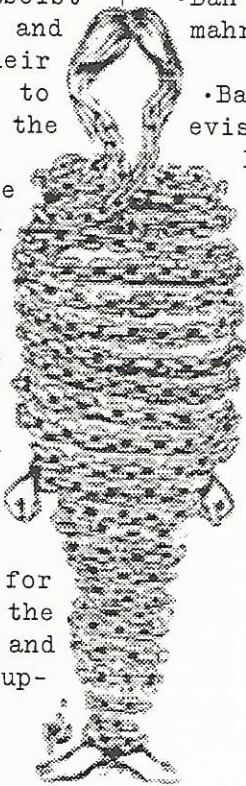
- Ban on women riding in a taxi without a mahram.

- Ban on women's presence on radio, television, or public gatherings of any kind.

- Ban on women playing sports or entering a sport center or club.

- Ban on women washing clothes next to rivers or in a public place.

- Ban on males and females traveling on the same bus.





## Repression after 911 by Don Hamerquist

(This argument centers on the United States. I realize that a number of the points may not be applicable to Canada, but I hope that the general points have some relevance.)

Things are going to change after September 11, and some of the changes will hurt. The likelihood is that repression will significantly escalate and that there will be dangerous changes in its character. This should be a real concern for our movement.

We aren't very well prepared. The movement is filled with a mess of confusions and illusions about the nature and function of repression and the mechanisms through which it operates. The experiences of the past few decades have led to the tacit assumption that state repression is thick-headed and heavy handed, a set of anachronistic policies and dumb cops that can either be contained through liberal pressure or outmaneuvered and outwitted by radicals. How many times have we heard it argued that the state wants to "criminalize dissent" and "jail the leadership" of the movement? And since this hasn't happened, doesn't it follow that we must have somehow defeated state repression? Not hardly. We cannot afford the luxury of continuing to blunder around in this area. Repression is going to increase and this will have major costs for our movement, but if repression is understood, it can be resisted successfully without abandoning a radical project.

When the nazis came to power in Germany, they burned down their own parliament building, the Reichstag, blamed it on Communists and used this "crime" as a pretext for a repressive campaign that quickly made all opposition illegal and lots of it dead. Around the same time, Stalin had his main rival, Kirov, murdered, and blamed this "atrocitiy" on communist traitors. Within a couple of years all strands of communist opposition, real and potential, feeble as they were, were wiped out.

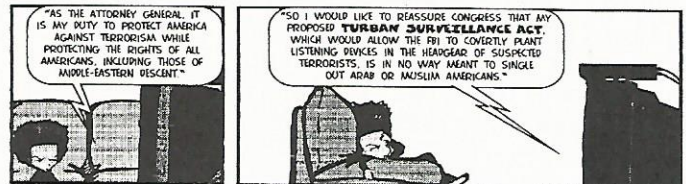
Seeing Sept 11, as our Reichstag Fire would take us way too far down the conspiracy trail, but the parallel shouldn't be totally dismissed. There have been instances in our history where the way to war and repression was similarly, if slightly more sub-

tlety, greased. Think about the sinking of the Maine, the hardly surprising "surprise" attack on Pearl Harbor, the imaginary Gulf of Tonkin "incident".

Whether or not any ruling sector expected Sept. 11, it will provide a handy justification for a number of moves towards "strong state" repressive policy and for the elimination of the largely formal restrictions that came out of the Vietnam War/Watergate period. These are moves that have been in preparation for years, waiting for an occasion like this when popular skepticism and grass roots opposition will be at a minimum.

A number of areas where the repressive apparatus is going to be strengthened are quite evident. For one, there is going to be overwhelming pressure towards a computerized national identity system, based on a card that must be carried and produced on official demand. Another obvious area is the push to militarize travel and border security. It is likely that the new department of "homeland security" will do the same with disaster management, FEMA, and some areas of public health.

### THE BOONDOCKS



On other fronts we will see racial and ethnic profiling embraced officially for reasons of national security. We will see this so-called "national security emergency", which has all the marks of becoming a permanent state, used to formalize the right of the state to complete access to cyberspace and your personal computer.

Repression is also going to increase in the more traditional civil liberties/first amendment areas. Less proof required, stiffer penalties assessed is clearly a watchword for the emerging policies. There



is no doubt that this situation is going to inject new life into legislation and prosecutions of the "seditious conspiracy" variant. Conspiracy prosecutions require less proof and less participation in overt actions for conviction, but they have had rough sledding legally in this country, particularly in political cases. Many of them have failed even at the height of war hysterias. Now, we have the declaration of total war on a "conspiracy", complete with threats that any kind of support for the conspiracy will be treated like full participation in it ñ "you're either with us or you're against us". Not only that, but this is a conspiracy where the projected top guy, bin Laden, is quite likely to be mainly an ideologue, an advocate and spokesperson, not the organizational mastermind and not the fuehrer. It is his thoughts and visions that are the central crime, so the separation between thought and speech and overt action is increasingly obliterated. It's as supporting old General LeMay's plea to bomb Vietnam back into the stone age were no different than actually doing it.

Similar developments are likely with federal RICO (racketeering influenced corrupt organizations) prosecutions. The attempts to use RICO in political cases have been relatively infrequent and not too productive. Now, use of RICO is likely to expand because it puts prosecutions directly into federal court where the rights of the accused are greatly reduced and provides draconian sentences, property confiscations and huge financial burdens for relatively minor legal violations.

This all has to be understood in the context of the implications of a "war" on a "conspiracy", rather than on a state or grouping of states. Many of the current legal restrictions on political surveillance and police intervention are based on the need to demonstrate a link with a foreign government, a showing that the police action would be directed against agents of a foreign power. A trans-national conspiracy is a much more fluid conception than a foreign state. The distinctions between citizen and non citizen will tend to be blurred when the shape of the "conspiracy" is set by political and ideological agreement, not by the alleged policy of a foreign government.

William Pierce  
- National Alliance -  
10-6-01

So-called "conservatives" in our government have wanted for years to have the power to silence troublemakers, dissidents, anyone who refused to march in lockstep with everyone else. Our present attorney general, John Ashcroft, is one of the worst of these. They want new laws to permit them to suppress any speech or opinion or activity they don't like. Believe me, despite their claims of support for freedom and the Bill of Rights, these lying bastards do want to take away our freedom. They are far more dangerous enemies of America's freedom than Osama bin Laden could ever hope to be.

They are disguising their fight against our freedom as a fight against terrorism. They already are ramming new laws through state legislatures, and they certainly will be pushing hard for new Federal laws as well. They want laws that not only will give the FBI and other secret police agencies additional powers to tap people's telephones and read their e-mail and scrutinize their bank records, but will broaden the definition of "terrorism" greatly. They want laws that will define as a "terrorist" anyone who speaks in favor of or helps support a person who has been labeled by the government a "terrorist," or an organization which has been labeled a "terrorist organization." They want laws that will make such a person subject to the death penalty. And who will decide which organizations are "terrorist organizations"?

Hey, you don't have to worry about that! Mr. Wolfowitz and his helpers in the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Poverty Law Center will make a list. Attorney General Ashcroft will endorse the list. And if someone is charged under the law with being a terrorist, and you don't think he is and you give him a donation to help him hire a lawyer to defend himself, you have just given money to a terrorist and will be charged with being a terrorist yourself. Pretty slick, eh?



These trends towards greater repression, and others that we may not yet recognize, will make a lot of things we do harder, but it will do the same for tens of millions of others, particularly those who exist at the margins of society. There is certain to be widespread opposition, not only liberal complaining but also sabotage and widespread areas of refusal. We should do our best to maximize this resistance.

However, our end of the political spectrum won't have a monopoly on this project. The fascist right will not be happy with these developments either. Remember that the hero of the fascist manifesto novel, the Turner Diaries, bombed the FBI headquarters to prevent the develop of a national identification system. Remember also that merging of the military into domestic policing is a violation of the posse comitatus rule. Defense of posse comitatus has been central to fascist organizing and to the survivalist/militia movement over the past thirty years. It will be important to develop a popular resistance to repression that is not reactionary or fascist. We have some initial advantages because the initial repressive thrust is against immigrants, and because the underground economy which would be threatened by a national I.D. system is also significantly based on non-citizens. Fascist xenophobia and hostility to immigration will be a handicap for them. (See Sprite article) However, our advantages are not absolute and they are not permanent. First, any serious economic deterioration can rapidly expand the appear of fascist programs. Second, there are reactionary and fascist potentials that are distinct from the white racists and fascist racialists. These forces can and will begin to organize in this arena too. It's important that we move quickly.

While the general outline of escalating repression is clear, some applications that could apply specifically to revolutionaries are being left vague. Think about the significance of the military taking over "certain policing functions", and the merging of "intelligence" gathering resources. These are frequent points in the various presentations of the so-called military and security experts. Military intervention into

this country's domestic protest movements was a common occurrence during the sixties. In the postVietNam period, legal restrictions were placed it. It makes some ruling class sense to use military resources against domestic opposition movements when there is a real expectation that these might grow into popular insurrectionary movements that can't be contained by normal police forces. Perhaps expectations of a more turbulent period developing again are behind the attempts to get rid of these restrictions.

There is another possible "law and order" role for the military, though not one that would exclude those mentioned above. This would not be an intelligence gathering and investigating role. It would involve the use of special forces for the apprehension and elimination of "enemies" without the necessity for a trial or much of any legal process. The model for this role is the search for, and elimination of, Pablo Escobar, the onetime head of the Medellin Cartel. This was accomplished outside the U.S. in another questionable war, the War on Drugs. The actual killing was done by a secret death squad of the Columbian army, but the key role was played by the logistical support and tactical guidance of U.S. special forces.

The goal, according to the counter-terrorist "strategists" and "experts" who are showing up in the media, is to be able to operate against "terrorists" and their supporters and sympathizers, with similar resources and similar "efficiency", and to be able to do this inside the U.S. as well as elsewhere in the world. This is a big part of the "homeland security" function, which the military now officially presents as its main role.

If we think back a bit we can get some traction on what this means. The U.S. waged a medium-sized war that killed thousands of Panamanians in order to arrest their man, Noreiga, who just happened to be the head of state. This is too clumsy and too expensive to be a model. The Chicago State's Attorney's Police and the FBI raided Fred Hampton's house and murdered him in his bed. This is too blatant a break with law and order fixations to be able to evade politi-



cal recriminations. Also not a good model. But there are some models: what happened to Ben Barka in Algeria, Lumumba in the Congo, Sitole in Rhodesia and maybe even Malcolm? And let's not forget the thousands who weren't notables and noticeable who just "disappeared". Probably we could call all of this military participation in policing matters.

In a recent interview with Ted Koppel of ABC, Attorney General, Ashcroft, had some interesting things to say in this area. He stated that emphasis was being shifted from "prosecution to prevention". Koppel asked how that would work, if the "terrorists" were preempted with methods that wouldn't stand up in court? Would the state just let them go? What do you think?

This is a sketchy consideration of the pressure after Sept. 11 towards state repression of the more or less traditional sort. In a way it is traditional law and order stuff spiced up with high technology and a growing dose of military and quasi-military force. This is the side of repression that attempts to contain dissent within narrowing boundaries while increasing the penalties for going beyond them. If they are to work properly these strong state policies require definite political conditions. Popular opinion in this country and, to a lesser extent, around the world must support a view of global politics as a war on terrorism that is a simple choice between good and evil, between "civilization" and barbarism, with the U.S. and global capitalism, and their temporary and shallow consensus of scruffy states of every ideological hue, as the only possible embodiment of what is good and what is "civilized". As soon as this premise is articulated it is clear that it is mainly myth and propaganda which the vast majority of people in the world would find laughable.

The ruling class, certainly the international ruling class, is not sufficiently delusional to believe that popular opinion, even in this country, will accept and support escalating authoritarianism without seeing good reason for it. Whatever people think of the tactics and goals of Al Qaida, the Taliban, Islamic Fundamentalism, etc., they are not going to hold them uniquely responsible for deteriorating living condi-

tions, for militarism and wars, for disease and famine, and for their general powerlessness to affect these circumstances through the channels "legitimately" open to them. That responsibility is inevitably going to be located in the economic, political and military institutions and ruling groups of global capitalism. Sooner, rather than later, this will create popular political insurgencies that cannot be eliminated by repression, not through their "illegalization", and not through military force. Attempts at repressing such movements can actually have a reverse impact, broadening the base of protest, making it more militant and radical, and undermining the legitimacy of ruling class authority.

Some sections of the ruling class realize that Sept. 11 was the bitter side, the rotten fruit of globalization and not some miasma from the past. This side of the New World Order has plagued much of the rest of the world. It was late coming to our neighborhood but it arrived with a big bang.

While even the sections that see the problems are not at all unified about how to respond to them, this is not to say that they are helpless. Another weapon they have available is a different type of repressive policy, one that is based on the political-military doctrines of counterinsurgency and low intensity conflict. This aspect of repression is certain to become more important in response to Sept. 11. It is likely to be particularly relevant to us-perhaps more so than the traditional law and order variants. It's important to understand the political basis for this.

Since the Seattle demonstrations the anti-capitalist tendency has been the sector of the movement with political momentum. It has grown rapidly in size, radicalism, and militance, but, despite some of its misconceived rhetoric, it has paid a relatively low price in repression. It was almost enough to make one think that anticapitalism and fighting the police were becoming semi-legal. To the contrary, revolutionary politics can get you badly hurt and at times legally killed. In much of the world this is reality now. It has been the reality in the past in this country and it will be again. Even before 9/11, it was clear that the



hard response to the anticapitalist movement was in the works. Now, it will come sooner and be more drastic. However, it isn't likely to be just a simple quantitative matter; more surveillance, more arrests, longer sentences, and generally tougher treatment.

Capitalism is flexible. It is constantly modifying to find forms of support on the terrain of its opposition. This isn't a matter of alchemy, but a complicated political process that is distinct from an increasingly harsh general repression, although not altogether incompatible with it. State repression is the external stick to keep insurgencies within a manageable "legitimate" framework. Traditionally, such repression is used selectively and combined with economic and political concessions that are oriented to divide constituencies with differential rewards and to separate out strata willing to accept certain privileges in exchange for administering their own and other's oppression.

In this country this process isn't working as well as it has. The flexibility for economic concessions is reduced, and those that demand them the most strenuously can't really deliver much political support in return. "Power sharing" concessions used to work as substitutes for actual economic benefits, but they are increasingly viewed as just another layer of oppression with a different face on the bureaucracy. These attitudes underlie the almost instinctive rejection of reformism and traditional protest politics which has swept through our movement. (Not that we should think this rejection is irreversible as current developments illustrate.)

From the point of view of the ruling class, even selective repression might generalize opposition and blanket repression could totally undermine capitalism's hegemonic potential. In these circumstances, the doctrines of counterinsurgency and low intensity conflict, will become important. They are premised on the inherent instability of capitalist power and view recurring popular insurgencies as an inevitability not an aberration. The counterinsurgency focus is on penetrating potential insurgencies early in their development in order to determine their political trajectory. This is in dis-

tinction to beating up on insurgencies while buying off sections of their leadership and absorbing their base with policies that at least appear to be economic and political concessions. This approach doesn't so much look to illegalize or criminalize the popular movement as to direct it from within into the political deadends of incorporation and/or marginalization. This goal is, rather than beheading the movement, become its head. The actual ruling class need is for an incompetent opposition, it is to be able to determine the terms of strategic discussion of your opposition.

One of the recurring themes in the official handwringing about Sept 11 is that this country has relied too heavily on technology and lacks "human intelligence" in "resources on the ground". (Think of our movement as one part of the "ground". The ruling class does.). The word intelligence implies that the need is for information, but we would be most naïve to think that the system is starved for information. It employs tens of thousands of people full time and spends billions compiling information about every conceivable threat. It already has thousands of agents and operatives in the movement passing on information. This argument is actually a coded call for a counterinsurgency policy. The system actually needs agents of influence, it needs to be able to determine events from the inside, not just predict them., or respond to them from without.

Counterinsurgency policies are not an easy choice for capital, particularly not in the "homeland". Cherished parts of the capitalist worldview: that it is a society in essential equilibrium; that it is the end of history; that it is the embodiment of civilization and human nature; that opposition to it is essentially irrational and even pathological; must be abandoned. This is as hard for capitalists to see as it is for communists to see that proletarian revolution is not "inevitable". There will be a host of conflicts and contradictions around it, but it is the future.

END



The situation at Concordia University in Montreal illustrates the political climate of the "War on Terrorism". We include some excerpts from a student overview and some representatively rabid comments from their critics. As we write, we aren't sure exactly what the situation is. We urge people to do whatever possible to support the students.

#### Part 1 - the students

>>>The Concordia administration and B'nai Brith are cracking down on left wing pro-Palestinian campus activism at Concordia, and this time the situation is more serious than ever- with allegations that the CSU is linked to "terrorism" and Osama Bin Laden, the notorious terrorist that the United States government accuses of masterminding the attacks of Sept 11th..

>In a press conference today, a B'nai Brith representative posed a rhetorical question linking the CSU to Bin Laden by asking 'could the Concordia Student Union be a "training grounds" for supporters of Osama Bin Laden'? This may seem funny, or ridiculous and absurd- but it is deadly serious, and in the context of the racist and xenophobic backlash being whipped up in US war against "terrorism" it may well have severe consequences for student activists at Concordia.

>Given a situation in North America where people have recently been murdered and hundreds more have been discriminated against, assaulted, and threatened for the "crime" of looking like "terrorists" (ie. being or "looking like" Muslims or Arabs), B'nai Brith's irresponsible rhetoric places all Concordia activists and all Muslims and Arabs (activist or not) at an increased risk from such a violent backlash. We need your help to let the university administration know that you do not support and will not tolerate B'nai Brith's McCarthyist witch-hunt against political dissent on campus<<<.

#### Part 2 - the media

Subject: Student agenda booklet raises hackles over content

IRWIN BLOCK  
Montreal Gazette  
Tuesday, October 02, 2001

A student agenda booklet that glorifies the intifada, urges the burning of the Canadian flag and calls for a Steal Something Day has plunged the executive of the Concordia Student Union into a storm of controversy. It has also added fuel to a campaign among Concordia's commerce and engineering students who are circulating a petition to recall the student executive and force a new election. The agenda, titled Uprising, has angered the university administration, upset students and parents and led B'nai Brith Canada to call for a police investigation of those who "promote violence, hatred and civil disobedience." One poem, by agenda editor Mia Brooks, urges readers to "smash the state, pound at the golden gates of patriarchy, burn the fires of racism, crush capitalism, throw them in the rivers to wash into the oceans." Frank Dimant, executive director of B'nai Brith Canada, said: "This is a call to arms, a call to intifada, to anarchy and revolution.

"Is this a blueprint for Osama bin Laden's youth program in North America?" Dimant asked at a press conference yesterday. He was not suggesting the handbook was, but he was concerned about its promotion of revolutionary goals and violence. Dimant was also outraged by advice to those "carrying out an illegal action, do not leave a paper trail that could lead the police to suspect you." The 312-page booklet, distributed free to students and paid for out of their compulsory dues to the Concordia Student Union, has a page with jets crashing into a room full of men in suits. The heading says it's "an agenda for uprising." Though the material was produced before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, Dimant said, "the very fact that such material is included suggests that violent events are being contemplated at some level."

#### part 3 - B'nai Brith

From: B'nai Brith  
Sent: Thursday, September 12, 2001 1:41 PM  
To: CSU faculty  
Subject: URGENT- VERY SERIOUS SITUATION AT CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY!  
>>>officials today called for an investigation of attempts by the Concordia Student Union (CSU) to inculcate a culture of violence, incitement to hatred and civil disobedience on campus. As investigations continue into reports of possible links between foreign terrorist groups operating in the province and the tragic events of September 11th, calls to burn the Canadian flag on July 1st ("Anti-Canada day") as well as instructions on how to defy the police and a rationale for stealing as a form of "empowerment" have been distributed by the CSU to all students. work together to ensure that the harmony of civil society not be undermined in such a dangerous fashion. We call on all parties to publicly condemn CSUs actions.

Frank Dimant, Executive Vice President, warned that this agenda threatens to be a blueprint for campuses not just in Canada, but throughout North America. At a time when all democracies face the threat of terrorism, this attempt to indoctrinate our young people in the ways of violence and confrontation is a dangerous move to destabilize society. <<<

**FASCISM  
&  
ANTI-FASCISM**  
by Don Hamerquist  
Introduction by J. Sakai  
  
Available through:  
**CHICAGO ARA  
RESEARCH BULLETIN**



## The Anti-Racist Action Network's Four Points of Unity

- 1) **WE GO WHERE THEY GO:** Whenever fascists are organizing or active in public, we're there. We don't believe in ignoring them or staying away from them. Never let the nazis have the street!
- 2) **WE DON'T RELY ON THE COPS OR THE COURTS TO DO OUR WORK FOR US:** This doesn't mean we never go to court. But we must rely on ourselves to protect ourselves and stop the fascists.
- 3) **NON-SECTARIAN DEFENSE OF OTHER ANTI-FASCISTS:** In ARA, we have lots of different groups and individuals. We don't agree about everything and we have a right to differ openly. But in this movement an attack on one is an attack on us all. We stand behind each other.
- 4) **WE SUPPORT ABORTION RIGHTS AND REPRODUCTIVE FREEDOM;** ARA intends to do the hard work necessary to build a broad, strong movement against racism, sexism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, discrimination against the disabled, the oldest, the youngest and the most oppressed people. **WE INTEND TO WIN!**

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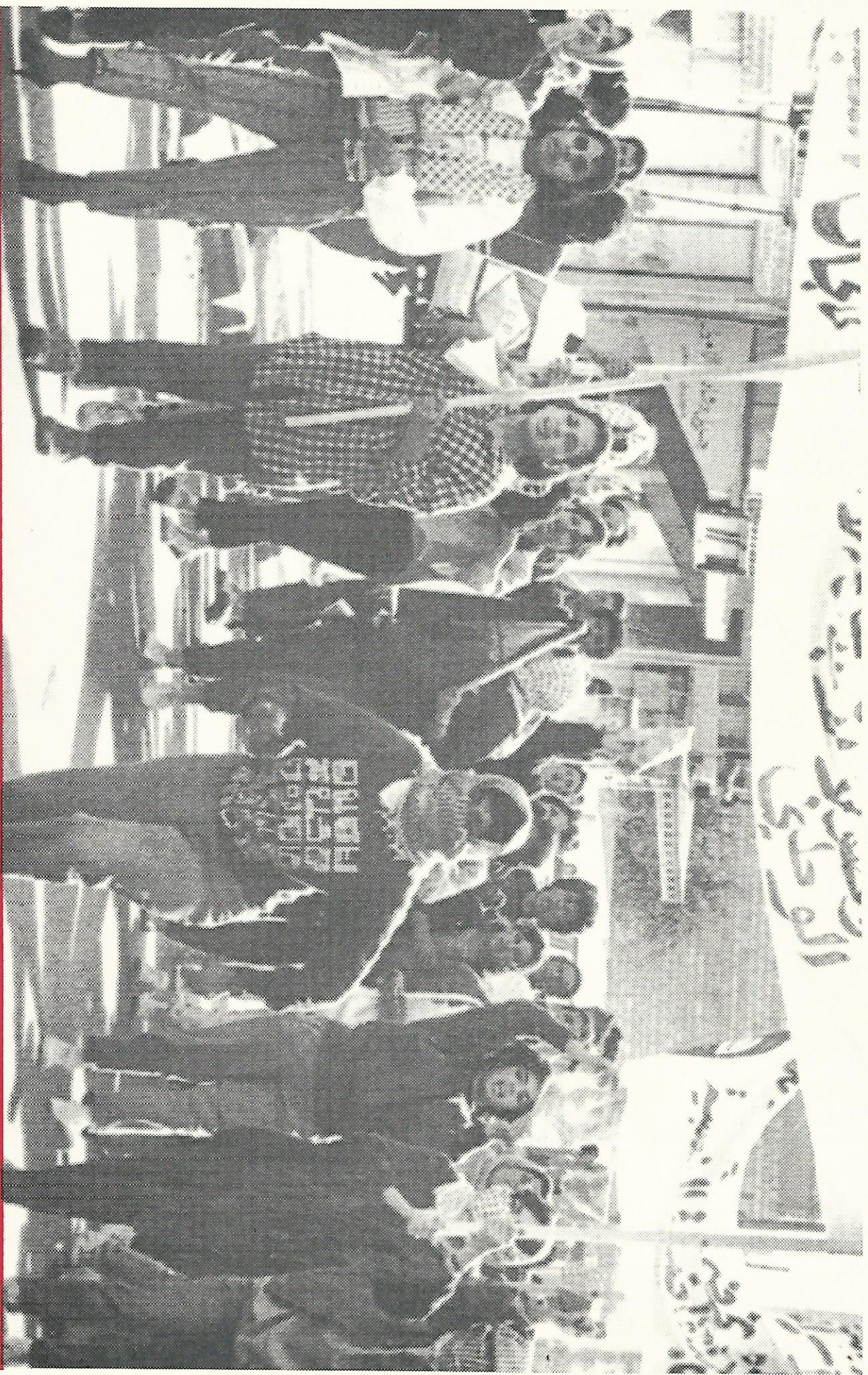
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الوحدة  
والحرية  
والسلام

It's On!!! Anti-Racist Action